

## The Times.

THE TIMES COMPANY.

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1898.

## THE REPUBLICANS AND THE NEGROES.

Some of the Republicans at the North are saying silly things about the recent race troubles in North Carolina. At a justification meeting on Saturday last, Col. Albert Clarke, of Boston, said that the Republican party gave the ballot to the blacks, and that the Republican party should never rest until that class can cast their votes as freely in the South as in New England. That the lives of the colored men should be as sacred in Carolina or Illinois as in New York. Senator Howard said that the Republican party, being the party in power, is responsible for the treatment of the negro and that it should protect the negro by whatever legislation may be necessary. Of course human life should be protected, but there are right ways and wrong ways of doing it. The Republican party is undoubtedly responsible for the negro vote and it should do what it can to protect its protegee from harm. But two wrongs cannot make a right, and the Republican party will never protect the negro, will never help him by encouraging him to vote against the white man's interest in the South.

The Northern people may as well take the sensible view of this question. Negro rule is an impossibility, and the South will never submit to it. The Southern people are loyal to the flag, but they are first of all loyal to their race, and they will not permit negroes to rule over them no matter who says that it must be. Why attempt an impossibility? When and where did the black man ever rule the white man? Look at Africa to-day distinctly the home of the negro. The whites have gone in and taken possession. England and France and Germany and other European powers own almost every foot of African territory, and those nations are in full power in the dark continent. If the black man cannot control his own country, is it possible that he can control Dixie land which was settled by the proudest Cavaliers who ever broke a lance? These men will never submit to the rule of the negro, and the Northern people know it well enough.

There is a remedy, there is a solution of the negro problem, and Republicans as well as Democrats know very well what it is.

## ARE FORCE BILL THEORIES TO BE REVIVED?

It is announced that the Attorney-General has advised the President that no case exists in South Carolina that justifies the Federal Government in interfering there with Federal power. This is well as far as it goes, but the Attorney-General's telegram to the United States District Attorney, asking information as to the actual facts of the case, inquires of him "whether any such condition of insurrection or disturbance exists as justifies the Federal authorities in interfering to suppress it," which is an assertion of the right of the Federal Government to interfere upon its own motion if it shall think the case one that calls for such interference. The matter is not to be left, therefore, where it now stands. The administration has assumed a right to interfere in the domestic affairs of a State if it thinks such interference called for, and that claim of right must be thoroughly looked into now when the claim is set up.

The claim is based upon Section 529 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which reads as follows:

Section 529. Whenever insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State so obstruct or hinder the execution of the laws thereof, and of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges, or immunities, and the constituted authorities of such State are unable to protect, or from any cause, fail in or refuse protection of the people in such rights, such fact shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States, and in all such cases, or whenever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States, or the execution thereof, the President may, by

proclamation, suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and may employ such force as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combinations.

This is part of the legislation adopted by Congress at the end of the civil war, and known as the reconstruction legislation.

Under the original theory of the Constitution, the United States was never to interfere in the domestic affairs of a State, unless the Governor or the Legislature asked for such interference upon the ground that the domestic troubles were so great that the State authorities were unable to deal with them.

A radical change in the whole theory of our government was made by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted after the civil war, which provided that no State should deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws, and Congress was given power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the section of the Revised Statutes of the United States quoted is authorized by the Fourteenth Amendment, and we have no doubt whatever that the Congress which passed it intended to authorize the President to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Southern States in just such cases as have arisen in South Carolina and North Carolina.

But if Mr. McKinley is going to resort to these reconstruction acts of Congress with the intention of forcing the whites of the South to submit to negro rule when the negroes are in the majority, by the use of the Federal power, then he is going to reopen the whole question of the force bill, which the country had supposed to be definitely settled and ended forever at the defeat of the last effort to pass it through Congress. This is a matter which cannot be ignored or overlooked. The administration has plainly placed itself upon the proposition that it will interfere in our domestic affairs if it thinks a proper case has arisen, while we of the South maintain the proposition that, in spite of the language of the Fourteenth Amendment, and of the acts of Congress passed to enforce it, the country has acquiesced in our claim that the white people are to rule the South, and that the Federal Government is not to interfere with them in the contests they may have with the negroes to establish their rule.

The South had supposed this question to be settled and disposed of forever. But the President evidently thinks otherwise. We cannot ignore his claim, and we must have it out with him at once. If the Republican party has really resolved to reopen the old force bill question, we must understand it forthwith. Free silver, greenbacks, and all other issues disappear in face of this one. If this issue is to be raised again, then the South is solid again.

Of course, if there be in any of the States an insurrection against Government authority, either State or Federal, that requires Federal authority for its suppression, no one will have a word to say against the President's using Federal power to suppress the insurrection. But the South has supposed that the contests for race supremacy in the Southern States had been decided by the nation to be domestic difficulties that were to be left to each locality for settlement, and if this is not so we shall have a very rude awakening, but it is one that we want to have as soon as possible. The matter cannot be left in its present shape. The South will never submit to being ruled by the negro. She may be ruled by bayonets, perhaps, but by the negro—never!

## ALABAMA'S ANTI-LYNCHING LAW.

In referring to the anti-lynching law in Ohio the Montgomery Advertiser mentions the interesting fact that such a law was once in force in the State of Alabama. It was enacted during the reconstruction period, but was repealed by the first Legislature that was elected after the white men of the State got control of the government. The repeal bill passed the House December 12, 1874, receiving the support of every Democrat, with one or two exceptions, and the opposition of all the white and negro Republicans, with one exception.

This is the view, says our contemporary, which the native Alabamians took of the law after a trial of half a dozen years during which suits had been commenced in some counties which would have ruined them completely, if the law had remained on the statute book and had been pushed to the limits contemplated by its framers and advocates.

In our opinion the inevitable effect of such legislation is not to prevent lynching, but as in the case of Alabama, to arouse public sentiment against the law. The law-abiding citizens of a county are not willing to hold themselves responsible for the lawlessness of the mob, and can see no reason why it should be taxed to pay for the act of a lawless band.

Therefore the law must either become a dead letter, or it will be repealed in response to popular demand. As we have so often said in this connection, it is manifestly absurd to attempt to make the people of any community obey the fundamental law of the land by statutory enactment. The constitution provides that every man accused of a crime shall have a fair trial, and if the people do not respect that great principle of constitutional government and of American justice, they cannot be made to respect it and to obey the injunction by an act of the Legislature.

## TO REPUTATE BAILEY.

The Washington correspondent of the Louisville Courier-Journal says:

The Hon. David A. De Armond, of Missouri, is a man much talked about at this capital these days. He may be the leader of his party in the Fifty-sixth Congress. A large and influential element of the Democrats do not want Richardson Allen and Amos Cummings to be for anybody against Bailey, and John Allen and Amos Cummings weigh a great deal more than Charles L. Bartlett, of Georgia, and Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia, the original Bailey men who conducted his campaign against Benton McMillin in 1897. De Armond is in a position to reap and garner the crop that Richardson Allen and Bailey are sowing. One of

the three will be the Democratic leader. At present the advantage is with the Tennesseean. Should Richardson have a good lead at the start he will get the plum. If Bailey has it the thing is as good as De Armond's. That is the way they are talking now.

The Washington Post and the New York Journal concur that Mr. Bailey will be re-elected, and that he will owe his defeat to the new members from the North. This will be said news to the Republicans. It is said that Speaker Reed pushed Babe to the front in order to make discord in the Democratic ranks and he succeeded right well in his undertaking. Bailey and Tillman are worth a thousand men to the Republicans.

## THE WEST, THE SOUTH AND FREE SILVER.

Reason as they may, the silver people cannot find any comfort in the late election returns. On the contrary they must see, and all who are not blinded by party, that they are not helped by the result. It is true that the Republican majority in the House, has been reduced, but most of the Democrats from the East who have been elected to take the place of Republicans are as surely in favor of sound money and as surely opposed to free silver as any Republican in the House. For example, one of the most pitiful wails that we have heard is that of Mr. William Willis, who ran in the First Maryland District as a free silver Democrat, against Colonel John Walter Smith, Mr. Willis declaring that the Chicago Democracy in that district was slaughtered in favor of the gold bug candidate. The next House will contain almost as many sound money men as the present House contains.

As for the Senate, the silver men have lost control of that body for many years to come and if they should succeed in 1900 in electing a silver man for the presidency and the majority of the members of the House, they would still be unable to pass any silver legislation.

But all this aside. The silver people are bound to see that in the last election wherever the silver issue was ignored the Democrats made their largest gains, and that where silver was made the leading issue in the West there the Republicans made their gains, notably in California, Washington, Wyoming, Kansas, the two Dakotas and Michigan, to say nothing of Mr. Bryan's own State of Nebraska, where, although the Republican victory was not so great as at first reported, they made gains of more than 100,000 votes.

The South is still solid. The South will always be solid as long as there is a negro question to deal with, but to-day the South is the only section that is standing up for free silver. Even its late associates in the West have forsaken it and fled. All but Missouri, Montana, Colorado, Nevada and Utah. But the people of the South will after a while awake to the fact that they have been misled. One of these days they will see that those who stood by the old Jeffersonian principle, who stood for sound money and for national integrity, and who refused to be led away from the Democratic faith by these new apostles, were the real friends of the South and not renegades and traitors as their opponents said.

In 1896 when the Chicago convention declared for free silver it was an easy matter to go along with the crowd, to cry out against the money power and to demand that the mints of the country be opened to silver. It was a very easy trial for sound money Democrats to cut loose from their old associates and to put themselves in the position of being harshly criticized, but they stood by their convictions at all hazards and the day of their vindication has come.

Few newspapers in the South or anywhere else have ever been more abused than The Times because it would not support the Chicago platform. We have never aspired to be a party organ and we have never sought popularity by running with the crowd. We are quite content with the position that we occupy in the State of Virginia, and we do not aspire to party leadership. But we make the prediction that the day will come when The Times will be recognized by the rank and file as the true exponent of Democracy in this old Commonwealth and this will come to pass without any deviation whatever from the principles which The Times has advocated from the beginning and which it advocates to-day. We may not live to see it. We may not be here, but The Times will be here and Democrats will say that after all The Times was right.

The hounds trailed the fox into the flock of sheep, and therefore the court may find one scent damages.

A Philadelphia negro thief escaped after stealing a handful of gold pence. The Pennsylvania pen will get that fellow yet.

Coin Harvey is moderating his plea for \$125,000,000. He will be after street car tickets and lunch room checks before 1900 is over.

Of course Maria Teresa did the proper thing in going into the first safe harbor when her escort deserted her.

The new capital of the United States of Central America is named Chinamoga. The very first syllable suggests that it is the place of congressional gatherings.

Only six men were killed during the election in Texas. It is evident that the Rough Riders have not all returned yet.

The dwellers in districts suburban Again to the grocery lie. And nighty night their old stories Of weather in winters gone by. The patrons of trolley and railroad Again their old grievances air. One crowd wants more heat and less squeezing. The other demands lower fare.

Then some are arranging reunions. To feast on the Thanksgiving bird. "Tumtumtumtum" the Democrats are planning. In fact, every topic is heard. We're glad the election is over. Regardless of victim's disgust. Because we are finding our pleasure. In the subjects we've often discussed. —Pittsburg Commercial Telegraph.

That remarkable armature is liable to drive the citizens of Petersburg to using ships before long.

It's a sly fox that can pull the wool on a whole flock of sheep over the hunter's eyes.

A soldier from the Third Regiment went hunting, stumbled over a log and

his gun exploded and killed a dog. By the shades of Camp Alger those Spaniards were lucky we didn't get after them.

After tying his string securely to the plum tree, Quay has gone off to Florida for a rest.

Judge Van Wyck can be counted on to condemn the practice of the office seeking the man.

Emperor William is going to Spain. Goodness, what an inveterate relic hunter he is.

The ex-mayor of Wilmington may have gone ashore on Cat Island.

An organized labor strike is on at Santiago, and thus the new territory shows strong signs of being civilized.

Lieutenant Drege killed himself rather than go to Manila, but Dewey seemed to think it was better to kill the other fellow.

Bloody Bridles Waite has become very rich through mines in Colorado and now rides his horse on good roads, and makes no war on wealth.

A fox ought to know better than to lead a pack of hounds into a flock of sheep anyhow.

The weather has moderated sufficiently to allow the people of North Carolina to throw off their red flannels.

The gentleman from Oyster Bay won't do much dredging in the New York canal.

## Had Noticed It.

"Have you ever noticed that men and their wives generally go to look alike after they have been married for a few years?"

"Oh, yes. Both of them nearly always have the same sad expression."—Chicago News.

## A Born Politician.

"To what do you attribute your success in politics?" asked the reporter of a statesman. "I was fortunately born wealthy."—North American.

## An Echo From Kansas.

Oh, who will speak for sockless folks? Oh, who will keep us gay? Oh, who will be the butt of jokes When Jerry's far away? —Chicago Post.

## Light and Alry.

Smith—What kind of business is Brown engaged in?  
Jones—Pneumatic, I think.  
Smith—Pneumatic? Why, I never heard of a business like that.  
Smith—Well, whatever it is, it's running on wind.—Chicago News.

## Constancy.

He told her that he loved her. He plainly told her. I'm glad he told her. Then all else here below. Since then a year has vanished. But she doesn't sit and fret Alone, at night, neglected. They aren't married yet. —Cleveland Leader.

## Subject Avoided by Poets.

Sweet, clinging curls that round her fair brow twine,  
Inspires of a hundred tender songs! Yet who is there with intuition fine Has sung their cause—the useful curling tongs? —Brooklyn Life.

## Quite Realistic.

"That would seem in the third act of your opera something natural and I imagine I could actually hear the bears growling," said the Western man to the theatrical manager.  
"Guess that was the chorus girls you heard," replied the manager. "Some of them haven't been paid for six weeks."—Chicago News.

## A High Flyer.

Mrs. Briersleigh—Why, I'm surprised to hear that you are looking for another school. I thought you were so well satisfied with the one you had?  
Mrs. Walker—I was well satisfied, but she turned out to be a high-flyer.

Mrs. Briersleigh—Indeed! What did she do?  
Mrs. Walker—Started the kitchen fire with coal oil.—Cleveland Leader.

## A Domestic Even Song.

As I sit at table bending  
Over a task that seems unending,  
There's a sound which keeps ascending  
From the room below.

'Tis no strain of life or 'cello;  
'Tis no song of useful fellow  
Caged, with plumage of bright yellow,  
Swinging to and fro;

But to canto never falling,  
Lengthened all its notes appalling,  
'Tis my self-prospective squalling  
As if he were in pain.

Don't be frightened, nothing serious;  
He's not dying nor delirious;  
Has no ailment, no delirious,  
Bedtime's here again. —Truth.

## Changing the Subject.

Election excitement is ended,  
Stump speech no longer enthrall;  
The men of denunciation, we discover,  
Are pretty fair chaps after all.

We're through with predictions and rail-  
lies.  
We're done with the boast and the  
about.  
And gladly we turn to the subjects  
We've often before talked over.

The hubby who talked o'er the traces  
Again is as meek as a mouse,  
And patiently now he is giving  
Attention to chores round the house.

Because he's so often lamented  
The wife who so often would stray,  
Again gets a chance in the evening,  
To gossip with friends 'cross the way.

The man who went daff o'er predictions  
On how the election would go,  
Once more is heard freely conversing,  
And thoughts in the old channels flow.

His talks on the war he's resuming,  
Which proves that the chances  
Of winning the pennant next year,  
He's even discussing the chances.

Rowland Blennerhassett Mañany might double up with Aguinaldo in a special song and dance business in the Philippines.

The House of Representatives will miss mountebanks like Jerry Simpson and James Hamilton Lewis, but of course there is Bailey left.

That remarkable armature is liable to drive the citizens of Petersburg to using ships before long.

## DEMOCRATIC PROSPECTS.

AN ANALYSIS FOR THE TIMES.

The election of last Tuesday when its results are studied, indicates as clear as noon-day that there is no hope for Democratic success in 1900, unless the party speedily mends its ways, and abandons its "new Democratic" platform, and returns to the platform of 1896, and proclaims since by the Tillmans, Tellers and Altgelds, and cuckooed by the lesser lights.

If last Tuesday had been presidential election day, a Republican President would have been elected by a majority of 22 votes in the electoral college, 26 more than McKinley had, a glance at the following table will show.

Democratic and Fusion.

State	Electoral votes
Alabama	9
Arkansas	7
California	9
Florida	9
Georgia	13
Idaho	3
Kentucky	8
Louisiana	9
Massachusetts	11
Missouri	17
Montana	3
North Carolina	11
Nebraska	9
North Dakota	3
Tennessee	12
Texas	15
Utah	3
Virginia	12
Total	162

Republican.

State	Electoral votes
California	9
Connecticut	6
Delaware	3
Illinois	21
Indiana	11
Iowa	11
Kansas	11
Maine	6
Maryland	8
Massachusetts	11
Michigan	14
Minnesota	12
Nebraska	9
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	10
New York	36
North Dakota	3
Ohio	14
Oregon	4
Pennsylvania	22
Rhode Island	4
South Dakota	4
Vermont	4
Washington	4
West Virginia	4
Wisconsin	12
Wyoming	3
Total	284

Republican majority, 122 electoral votes; McKinley's majority was 95.

This result reduces the number of Democratic, Silver and Fusion members of the United States Senate after the 4th of March next, from 41 to 33, and increases the number of Republican members from 46 to 57. It transfers Kansas, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming and even silver-producing Nevada and almost the Grand

brass, the home of silverism from the Bryan column of 1896 to the Republican column of 1898. It shows a Republican gain of 17 members of the House of Representatives in the Northwest and West, where free silver was so strong in the last presidential campaign.

We find Kentucky which was carried by the Republicans two years ago by a meagre majority, returning to the Democratic column and almost Democratic victories achieved in New York and New Jersey in the House of Representatives justified for McKinley and heavy reductions of the Republican majorities of 1896 in Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland and a Democratic gain of 24 members of the House of Representatives in the Eastern States where the gold standard sentiment is overwhelming.

"Let us analyze these results and their causes. In the States of Kansas, South Dakota, Washington and Nevada, and Nebraska and Wyoming and the northwest and west generally the issue of free silver was clear-cut and dominant and free silver lost. The Republicans on the sound money platform held every State they had carried for McKinley except Kentucky and won five and almost six States they had lost and added 17 to their congressional representation in the northwest and west.

In the States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland and in the east generally the Democrats side-tracked free silver, eliminated it entirely from their platform and in many instances nominated gold Democrats. Nearly every State in the East, New Jersey, reduced largely the Republican majorities in the other three states and gained 24 members of the House of Representatives in the North and East.

Now with these facts in bold array before him can any reasonable man deny that Democracy lost in the Northwest and West because free silver was made an issue and carried by the Republicans and because it was ignored and relegated to the rear in the party platforms? Then can any Democrat devoted to the traditions of his party, glorifying in its past, recalling its achievements and wishing to see it again in power and administering the government upon great fundamental Democratic principles, can any Democrat still insist upon sticking stubbornly to an issue which it cannot win, and which it has no power to keep?

Will he persist in pushing the new doctrine of free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver a doctrine that was out of the mind of the party in 1896, and as blind as a bat that if his party adheres to it, Republicanism will sweep the country in the next National contest. What good will it him? How can he expect free silver to come? By what process of reasoning can he arrive at the conclusion that it is possible? For eight years hence at least the Republican party will be entrenched in power in the Senate, and nothing but a mighty revolution in sentiment among the Republican senators could bring legislation favorable to silver. Must that agitation continue for the sake of silver? Let us turn to free silver. Must he be the test of a man's Democracy, must he be required to swear allegiance to it as a condition precedent to his participation in party primaries and caucuses, when the country is sounding with its condemnation and it is fast driving the Democratic party to destruction?

The Republican party wants no better issue than sound money and free silver. It has felt the pulse of the country and it has gauged the great commercial and business sentiment of the land, and its astute leaders are doing and will continue to do all in their power to keep "sound money" as their shibboleth, before the people. They are bold in their strength and arrogant in their might. The battle of free silver has been twice fought—in 1896 and in 1898—and victory over the silver issue has been won by the Republican banner, because "sound money" was inscribed upon it. The men who direct the policy of this party are anxious now, and will not rest until they have rectified their mistake and again plant themselves on the bedrock principles of its founders and discard the fallacies that were imposed upon it by the silver issue, and which are now so greatly discredited.

It is good tactics in politics, as well as in war, to do just what your enemy does not want you to do. Let your play into the hand of your adversary.

Recurring to the results of the election of last Tuesday, we find the States classed as follows: The States of California, Idaho, Montana and Utah.

Nebraska is not included, for while the Fusion candidate for Governor seems to have been elected by about 2,000 majority, a loss of more than 10,000 from Bryan's vote, a Republican Legislature was elected, thereby insuring the election of a Republican Senator in the stead of Allen, (Populist) and now a member of the National Democratic Committee.

It is not a most singular and an anomalous position for the South to occupy. She has large commercial interests, immense agricultural wealth and unbounded deposits of iron and coal, and she is making wonderful strides in manufacturing. She has no silver mines; yet she attaches herself to the waning fortunes of free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver, advocates a monetary system which would destroy the great manufacturing State of New York, the great coal and iron States of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the great manufacturing States of Connecticut, New Jersey and Massachusetts, and the great agricultural and lumber States of the mighty West, with the solitary exception of Missouri.

What does this mean? Has some evil spirit arisen over the judgment of the South? Is there some advantage she sees that is hidden from the vision of every other section of the Union? Can she not realize that there is at least a possibility that she is in error, and will not at least shut her eyes to the fact that she is deliberately taking a question which threatens to annihilate the Democratic party? Will she not calmly survey the situation and look conditions squarely in the face? Will she shut her eyes to the fact that free silver is an impossibility, at least for years to come, and that to persist in its advocacy can only have the effect of wasting her political power and influence and rendering Democratic defeat and Republican victory a matter of time?

Can she succeed certain and register her entire vote for the white metal, yet with it and the support of Missouri and the four little silver States mentioned, the Democratic electoral vote would only have been 163 out of 447 if this had been a Presidential year?

It may be that the Democratic party will retain supremacy in the South under any and all circumstances. Existing conditions render this probable in State elections. But will Southern Democracy be satisfied with State victories only? Will they not desire to reach out for national victories? Will they be content to nurse a dead issue as a mere matter of sentiment and thereby fritter away their strength and play directly into the hands of their political foe and permit them to run the national government to suit themselves?

The instincts of rats make them desert a sinking ship and seek port of safety. No man of judgment or intelligent men prompt them to forsake a lost cause and take up living issues in the proper settlement of which they are vitally interested? Take away from free silver the support of the South and there would be enough States left to act as pallbearers at its funeral. Missouri, Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Utah would remain to mourn its demise and convey its remains to their last resting place. The present Missouri majority would very soon recover from the bereavement, but the sorrow of the other four States would be deep and painful, for their silver product last year was in ounces as follows: Colorado, 2,538,000; Idaho, 3,994,000; Montana, 15,588,000; Utah, 1,195,000. Total, 23,315,000 ounces. Total output of the United States 60,000,000 ounces.

But lest the gains made in the House of Representatives by the Democrats may supply a few crumbs of comfort and lead some to think that free silver still has a "fighting chance" for life, it may be well to notice this aspect of the election. In the present Congress the parties are divided as follows: